Table 14. Ages of Infants and Young Children at First and Last Measurements[1], Bang Chan, Thailand, 1952-54.

145

Age at First Measurement	Age at Last Measurement	Number of Children		
		Total	Boys	Girls
months	months			
under 1[2]	13-18	16	5	11
1-3	16-21	12	8	4
4-5	20-22	5	4	1
7-9	23-27	4	2	2
11-12	22-28	6	4	2
13-18	29-35[3]	6	0	6
19-24	36-40	10	3	7
25-30	40-45	5	3	2
31-35	42-51	4	4	0
36-43	53-60	3	3	0
		71	36	35

1. In addition to these listed nine children were measured once or twice but were not followed longer.

2. Weights and recumbent lengths for infants under 1 month are not included in this report because of varying ages from one day onward, at which the initial observations were made.

3. Except for one child who was measured over a relatively short period.

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these circumstances we find differences in response, we can be fairly confident that we have a true measure of personality differences and not a measure of how well these people have learned their respective cultures [first italics added]. 121

In my view, the Rorschach, not being a language-mediated instrument, is descriptively and analytically limited to too narrow a sector of psychological functioning (primarily to perceptual processes). It was therefore not used in my own research. However, the major condition of Spiro's argument is admirably fulfilled by our Sentence Completion Technique, the statements of which—covering a broad spectrum of psychological experiences—were expressly designed for, and are capable of, use not only in Thai peasant culture but in several other cultures of the world. 12.

The next two basic stages of the research are intended eventually to provide analytic depth and descriptive detail to the earlier formulations. The third stage, involving the use of the Thematic Apperception Test—eleven of the original Murray–Morgan "American" cards which were redrawn to suit Thai conditions—is concerned with portraying the fantasies and unconscious sentiments of the villagers to the extent to which they are willing or capable of articulating material which reveals such sentiments. This last point is important. I used the TAT in Bang Chan on the premise that this technique would elicit the type of data it is theoretically designed to elicit; that is, when informants are presented with highly ambiguous pictures and asked to make up stories describing what is occurring in the pictures, they will project through these stories their own unconscious sentiments and preoccupations. The rationale here is that since the stories and the pictures which stimulate them are so highly fanciful, with no realistic consequences or constraints, informants will give free rein to their imaginations and reveal those concerns that are not usually expressed in the more inhibiting and realistic circumstances of ordinary life; and being fantasies, the stories represent projections of unconscious materials. It is this fanciful element that differentiates the TAT data analytically from the considerably more realistic SCT materials.

To a large extent, these theoretical expectations were fulfilled in the informants' responses to the TAT. The villagers' inordinate preoccupation with aggression and social conflict in the stories, for example, was almost the antithesis of what one would predict from observations of overt behavior, but made considerable sense to an investigator who always found it hard to believe that their marked non-aggressiveness at the behavioral level did not betray something quite different at more latent levels.

Despite successes of this sort with the TAT, there were several instances when informants did not seem to articulate analytically useful material. This was either because some pictures held little psychological significance for them (and this happened, I might add, with cards that

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were expected to be among the most stimulating) or, more important, because the informants' stories were getting psychologically too close to home: the "unconscious sentiments" they were supposedly projecting onto the figures in the cards were becoming uncomfortably conscious and knowingly self-descriptive.

Thus informants would often get their story "heroes" into emotionally difficult or painful situations, and as if recognizing what they had done—"I will reveal this much, but not more"—would resist elaborating, working through, or even resolving the fanciful but personally distressing situations they had created.

I mention these difficulties primarily to emphasize that despite the usefulness of an instrument like the TAT for evoking the unconscious feelings of informants—and doing so more efficiently than other techniques heretofore devised—the extent to which such feelings will in fact be articulated depends largely on the informants' emerging awareness of their feelings, or lack of same, a characteristic which may well vary from culture to culture. In assessing TAT responses or any other fantasy materials, therefore, it is well to remember that the obtained data may eventually tell us just as much about the process of accepting and rejecting unconscious feelings as it will about the content of "unconscious" feelings as such.

The fourth section of the research consists of several detailed life histories. The major aim here is to provide in the most naturalistic terms possible what it means to feel and think like a Thai peasant. Except for highly general, open-ended questions ("Thinking back on your life, what are the most important things that ever happened to you?"; "What kind of childhood did you lead?") and occasional probes, the data are completely the product of the villagers' own assumptions, trains of thought, and emphases.

Having collected and worked with all the foregoing data, I would suggest that the life histories are clearly the most descriptively rich and psychologically revealing, especially when coupled with individual analyses of the projective test materials. However, being life histories, they are also highly idiosyncratic—perhaps an inevitable concomitant of their richness. It is precisely for this reason that the analyses of life histories were (and should be) undertaken toward the latter part of a research program, after a basic picture of psychological modality and variation, as well as a general description of villagers' unconscious processes and preoccupations, has first been provided. It is only in such a context that their representative character,[3] as well as their substantive significance, can be intelligently

[3] I am referring here to *psychological* representativeness, not to the more familiar problem of *social* representativeness—age, sex, occupational roles—that has been bruited about in the literature (Lindesmith and Strauss 1950, Mead 1953 and 1955,

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determined. So frequently the provocative, interesting, or delightfully human life histories found in the anthropological literature (Dyk 1938 and Tirabutana 1958 come immediately to mind) are so simply because they are the products of the more imaginative, articulate, and introspective members of the culture in question. The issue of course is not that a biography elicited from an articulate individual is to be considered ultimately any more or less valuable than one obtained from a more "typical" member of the culture—Kluckhohn's "Mr. Moustache" (1945) is ample evidence of what an articulate interpreter can do with the life history of a relatively inarticulate informant—but rather that it be accurately seen against a background of the psychological responses of the members of the community as a whole.[4]

The final stage of the research program is perhaps the most complex. Following the outlines of a recommendation originally made by Inkeles and Levinson (1954) and Inkeles (1959), it aims at presenting a systematic analysis of the *relationship* between the personality tendencies of the villagers, as determined through the foregoing materials on the one hand, and the functional requirements of Thai peasant society, as determined through ethnographic data, on the other.

An analysis of this type rests on at least three premises: (1) that there is just as likely to be a lack of congruence between the psychological capacities and proclivities of a group of people and the psychological demands that are made upon them by their own social institutions (demands that must be met if the institutions are to be maintained effectively) as there is likely to be a close fit, and that a crucial, empirical task of any culture-personality study is to detail the specific areas of congruence and noncongruence; (2) that human beings can bear considerable psychological strain—precisely how much we really do not know—and still function effectively, maintaining both their prevailing personality patterns and

Mandelbaum 1953, among others). The issue is the extent to which the psychological tendencies of life history informants—their readiness to respond and modes of response in various situations, their assumptions and unconscious premises—are typical of other villagers.

[4] I am reminded here of my own ambivalent reaction to a comment once made by a villager who, intrigued by the fact that I was collecting life histories, said: "I have heard about those people who are telling you their life stories. You've smart—getting interesting ones like them. Some of those people can really *phuud kay*." To *phuud kay* means to "speak well," but more particularly to speak cleverly, fluently, deceptively, convincingly, or beautifully (in an aesthetic sense). Actually, there were numerous individuals in Bang Chan who, in local terms, could speak considerably more *kay* than the life history informants. However, as the villager's remark suggests, the ability to be "kay-ful" in one's speech is something to which Bang Chaners give considerable attention, often to the extent of seriously modifying the intellectual content of their speech, and is one more factor that must be dealt with in assessing the content of a biographical document.

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III

Methodology in the Field

¶ 128 The discussion until now has been concerned with describing and interpreting aspects of the villagers' psychological life with little mention made of how these materials or those which follow were actually obtained. Since [121] one of the larger aims of this study is methodological (to present a method for dealing with some of the problems involved in designing cross-cultural personality research) and since the balance of the presentation depends directly on technical procedures, it is necessary to examine the nature of the data collection process itself. I will focus on three aspects of the research process: (1) the human beings involved (the villagers, the anthropologist and his assistants, and their interrelations); (2) the development and use of the Sentence Completion Technique in the field, including a discussion of translation procedures; and (3) the selection and nature of the sample.

• 12 Most of the foregoing discussion was not the result of a pre-planned methodological effort. Since I was dealing with data that emerge naturalistically from life's daily round, it seemed reasonable to impose few *a priori* methodological constraints on the investigation. My method was simply to try to be sensitive to *repetitive* and *culturally different* modes of behavior manifested by the villagers. Knowledge of the available literature and general knowledge of Thai culture may have helped, particularly with regard to the interpretations that were made. However, because both the observations and interpretations were made by a human being, it is inevitable that several of the factors discussed below should enter into my deliberations.

Field Research As a Social Event

Despite the entry into anthropological field work of what Kroeber (1955a: 307) called the "social science" tradition, the field situation remains a fundamentally human one where the kinds of data obtained, the willingness to provide information or to hold back, the types of interpretations that are made are all influenced by the personalities of the parties involved and how they perceive and deal with one another. The data that appear in most field studies are in part distillations of these complex interpersonal and

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intrapsychic forces, tempered by the investigator's capacity to see through them. Exactly what role they play in the fashioning of the final research product can probably never be fully determined since informants may not know or will not tell you what they "think" of you; and they are likely to be even less aware of how their thoughts have influenced their responses. Similarly, despite his training in self-consciousness, the investigator never has complete command over all the factors that prompted him to pursue a particular course of action in the field or an interpretive bent during the write-up. The problem is further complicated because there are numerous things which occur in the field that have little to do with the research as such, but which often impinge upon it, for example, an informant becoming markedly more aggressive during an interview when he learns that you have just returned from seeing a villager whom he dislikes. (This kind of information when it is available is not without interest. But no field worker is so omniscient as to have such complete knowledge of the likes, dislikes, and psychodynamics of every informant and thereby comprehend every turn in his behavior.) Yet, despite these ultimate limitations, the investigator can try to make as explicit as possible those human factors that he perceives as influencing the nature of the research experience. We will proceed from the relatively obvious to the more subtle considerations that bear on the materials being presented. 12 •

Villagers' Attitudes Toward the Investigators

Perhaps the major factor conditioning the villagers' attitude toward the research was the fact that other Cornell University investigators had worked in the community prior to my arrival. This meant several things: that precedents had been set for asking villagers personal and impersonal questions; that friendly, but generally not intimate, relationships had been established with several key villagers, notably those recognized as informal community leaders; that the villagers had come to accept the presence of Europeans as a normal part of their lives; and that our presence was seen as essentially a good thing. Not only were the *farang* (the Thai term for Occidentals) a source of novelty with their strange interests and long noses, as well as a source of prestige (for having singled out Bang Chan as the community being studied by "American professors"), but they were also a source of considerable practical help. Earlier Cornell workers had given funds to the Bang Chan monastery and school, had helped obtain vaccine to prevent a diphtheria epidemic, and had contributed added income to a few families in the form of rent for the "Cornell office" or salaries for the boys serving as the research team's houseboys. Perhaps the most important contribution the members of the research team made to the community, as 123

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123 124 a "serious-minded teacher" generally worked to the advantage or disadvantage of the research, I would definitely answer, "the former."

114 Perhaps even more important than the villagers' attitudes toward the author were their attitudes toward the Thai field assistants who worked with me at various times. It was through the field assistant that many villagers had their actual contact with the research and through him (or her) that I obtained a large part of my data.[1] Because the role of field assistant requires such distinctive qualities—"competence" in a foreign language, willingness to work with peasants and an appreciation of them, a desire to learn the way "other people" live—it was not easy to obtain or retain individuals to work with in Bang Chan. In a country such as Thailand where the term "social science" was virtually unknown until a few years ago, the position of "research assistant" simply offers no occupational future. Consequently, I had six different assistants working for me at different times during almost two years in the field. Two of these individuals were with me for less than three weeks. (One left the rice fields of Bang Chan for a position at the Thai Embassy in Rome; the other just did not like peasants.) Two were extremely able female graduate students in Education who worked only on Sundays and holidays, primarily with the younger village women. Out of both loyalty to me and a genuine interest in, almost love for, the villagers, they stayed on until the research was completed. The fifth, my major assistant, took three months to find, but he remained with me for fourteen months. When he left to work in Burma ("because I have never been to Burma") his place was taken by a very competent and sophisticated assistant district officer whom I "borrowed" from the Ministry of Interior. This last chap saw me through the life histories. Although he was excellent in the highly personalized setting of the life history interviews, his polished urban manner would have been too overbearing for the majority of informants during the earlier, more sensitive stages of the research. While this coming and going of field assistants,

• 12 114 [1] During the early stages of field work I was completely dependent on my assistant-translators, despite six months language training prior to leaving for the field. Later, I gained enough control over Thai to participate actively in the interviews. In order to minimize translation errors, however, it was decided to conduct and record all formal interviews (those involving the Sentence Completion Method, TAT, and life histories) completely in Thai, and translate later. The reasons for this are more fully discussed below. In effect, this meant training the assistant to carry the burden of the Sentence Completion interviews, the first large block of the research. By the time we reached the life histories, the interviews were taking the form of the informant replying directly to both myself and the assistant. All formal interviews were based on carefully prepared schedules, including even such matters as instructing on meeting arrangements. Only a portion of the total data of course came from these formal interviews. All the preceding materials, for example, were based directly on my own observations, or on the small but crucial verbal events that occurred outside the interviews and which actually comprised the interactive substance of day-to-day life.

4:Phillips E-4,5 (1956-1957) 1966
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VI

Lessons from Thai Culture

12. The materials in this volume have been addressed to several issues: methodological, theoretical, and descriptive. My purpose in this final chapter is to reflect on some of these points and to examine them for their relevance to the main currents of contemporary social science research.

Turning first to the more obvious methodological issue, it is clear that of the two descriptive methods used in this study, the first, presented in the chapter on "naturalistic observation," while essentially anecdotal and less systematic than the Sentence Completion materials, was the more sensitive of the two approaches. The very fact that the discussion was not governed by a pre-planned methodological framework permitted pursuing certain issues that were central in the psychological life of the villagers, but which might not otherwise appear in a culture-personality study. On the other hand, it is also clear that the materials thus gathered have little *direct* utility for cross-cultural studies, other than to indicate that other field workers look for similar or contrasting psychological manifestations among the people with whom they are working.

The Sentence Completion materials, while descriptively less sensitive and graphic than the above, afford the great advantage of being directly translatable to any other culture, of providing a check on the typicality of the earlier conclusions, and of providing a description of the villagers' subjectively held behavioral dispositions.

While the materials were qualitatively different—one "natural," the other "instrumental"; one behavioral, the other verbal; one descriptive of action, the other descriptive of predispositions to action—they produced no striking empirical inconsistencies. Much of this may have been due to the fact that many of the SCT items focused on relatively specific interactional situations—those descriptive of face-to-face contacts—which tend to be highly patterned in Bang Chan, and into which "loosely structured" considerations rarely enter. Under these circumstances, any carefully applied method might be expected to obtain roughly equivalent data. On the other hand, the fact that much of what is analytically meaningful about Thai personality occurs before, after, or between face-to-face contacts suggests

4:Phillips E-4,5 (1956-1957) 1966
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that an instrument such as the SCT should never be used by itself, or at least not without some reference to behavioral data. The SCT, or my particular version of it, could not readily get at the process of psychological commitment that plays such an important role in the lives of the villagers, and which underlies their "loosely structured social system." In fact, the handling of this process may well be one of the most interesting things about the villagers. In a somewhat oblique way, the SCT data implied the importance of this process: so many of the villagers' responses were phrased in terms of fulfilling social forms and rituals, that an analyst might question the degree of psychological commitment behind them. However, "psychological commitment"—the reliability, depth, and constancy of relationships; the degree of involvement necessary for insuring that an interactional event will even take place—cannot begin to be recognized as an analytic problem until one sees beyond the very social situations that presume it, and this can probably only be done by naturalistic observation and interpretation.

While the SCT and observational data did not contain any striking empirical inconsistencies, they did demonstrate the significance of an issue raised early in this study: the problem of whether the culturally interesting or distinctive is the same as the culturally frequent or modal. The analyses indicated that for the most part these two types of characterization were not incongruent. Thus, the extreme individualism and self-concern of the villagers emerged unmistakably from both sets of data. However, there were instances when the two kinds of characterization were not isomorphic, and resulted in conclusions quite different from those originally expected. Thus, on the basis of the observational materials, I fully anticipated that anxiety about interpersonal relationships would emerge in the SCT responses as the villagers' most frequent form of anxiety. The amount of gossip that occurs in the community, the references that one hears to slander, the touchiness that villagers exhibit in their actual relations with others, all pointed to this conclusion. These were the appraisals of an outside observer struck by the "different" and "unusual" facets of the culture he was studying. Yet the SCT data indicated beyond all doubt that interpersonal anxieties were not, from the villagers' point of view, their most typical form of anxiety. They were worried more about their stomachs than their hearts.[1] This conclusion, deduced from the villagers' own per-

[1] One might argue here from a psychoanalytic point of view that the stomach is simply a substitute for the heart. However, one might also argue from a psychoanalytic point of view that the heart is simply a substitute for the stomach. This Freudian principle of the substitutability of needs cannot by itself account for the *direction* of the substitution (unless one assumes a doctrinaire early Freudian or neo-Freudian position) nor can it prove the existence of the hypothetical substitution. These can be demonstrated only by detailed, empirical data on the traumata, repressions, fixations,

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Summary

• 12 The general condition of health and sanitation in the village of Bang Chan, Thailand, and the nutritional status of 166 persons in a random sample including 31 village households and of 233 primary school children are described.

141 The mean height for adult men in the random sample was 158.6 cm. (62.4 inches) and for women, was 151.3 cm. (59.6 inches).

Mean weights for adult men and women were 53 kg. (116.6 lb.) and 45.3 kg. (99.7 lb.) respectively. Mean and median weights for various age groups did not differ markedly nor consistently.

145 In general, the Thai children were shorter and weighed less than western children of the same ages. Mean heights and median weights fell below the 10th percentile of Iowa school children whose measurements have been reported by Stuart and Meredith (1946).

The reported age at menarche, for 94 females in Bang Chan, ranged from 13 to 19 years, with a median age of 15.

As judged by the median ages of eruption of specific permanent teeth and the number of permanent teeth per child at each age level, dental maturity of children in Bang Chan was approximately the same as that of children in other regions, both western and eastern, for which data are available. Although the average number of teeth at some ages was lower for children in Bang Chan than for American or English children, the differences were neither marked nor consistent.

164 Children in the Bang Chan primary school were found to be relatively free from caries. Of 226 school children 7 to 14 years of age, whose teeth were examined by a dentist, 42% were completely free of caries of both deciduous and permanent teeth. Of the total group of children, 68% (76% of 116 boys and 60% of 110 girls) were free of caries of permanent teeth. The average number of carious permanent teeth per child was 0.5 for boys and 0.9 for girls. For children with caries experience, the figures were 1.9 and 2.3 for boys and girls respectively. None of the children examined had any filled teeth.

The reason for the relatively low incidence of caries

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12 As advocad by the Joint FAO/WHO Expert Committee on Nutrition (1951), this study combined clinical appraisal with dietary surveys. The only laboratory tests done were for hemoglobin content of blood, and examination of stools for parasites. Suggestions for planning the schedule for the clinical appraisal were obtained from the report on the second session of the Joint FAO/WHO Expert Committee on Nutrition (1951), Nicholls (1951) and especially from Professor Dean Smith of the London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine (1952).

125 Choice of physical measurements, and of procedures in making them, were influenced by a tentative list of specifications for anthropometric measurement, developed by the Committee on Anthropometry, Food and Nutrition Board, National Research Council (1951).

The schedule used for clinical examinations, and a description of procedures used, are included in Appendix A.

Sampling. - All of the children attending the Bang Chan primary school were examined. Three or four children who were listed on the school rolls were not present at any time during the period when examinations were in progress, and were considered by the teachers as non-attending.

Persons in a random sample of households in 5 of the 7 hamlets in the Bang Chan community were also examined. The two most outlying hamlets were excluded from the population to be sampled because of the difficulty, during the dry season, in getting to them or having them come to us. Of 230 households in the 5 hamlets, 31 were included in the random sample. Age and sex distribution of the 166 persons in the sample were roughly similar to distributions for the approximately 1700 persons in the village as a whole, as determined in the census of December 31, 1953. Following is a summary of the age distribution:

[162] [62]

Age in Years	Bang Chan, 7 Hamlets	Random Sample, 5 Hamlets
0-14	38%	41%
15-19	11%	10%
20-59	44%	41%
60 and over	7%	8%

[162] The sample included one Muslim family of 13 members.

In the 31 households, 166 of 184 persons, i.e. 90% were examined. Of the 10% non-response group, half were unavailable, for example away at work when the examinations were in [129] progress. The remaining members of the non-response group

A A [See pp. 51-52--Analyst]

125 included adults of both sexes and some preschool children who
123 were unwilling to allow the physician to examine them. The small non-response group included persons of both sexes and a wide range of ages, and would therefore not be expected to bias the sample seriously. In general, rapport and cooperation were excellent.

Reproductive Function in Females

[145] Information concerning menstrual history was obtained from girls and women in the random sample of village households, and from mothers of the infants and small children whose growth and food patterns were studied (See Appendix A, schedule 3, item 35).

Information on child-bearing history was obtained from women in the random sample of village households, and from mothers of the infants and small children whose growth and food patterns were studied (See Appendix A, schedule 3, item 36).

Illness and Injury

• 12 [164] Evidence concerning the nature and extent of illness and injury in Bang Chan was obtained from various sources:

1) direct observation by the physician at the time of the physical examination, or when the physician was asked to visit a sick person in the village;

2) field notes in which information concerning illnesses, accidents and deaths were recorded as research workers learned of them; and

3) information obtained by structured interview in connection with surveys conducted by various persons working on the Cornell Thailand Project.

Adults in households which were included in the random sample were asked after the clinical examination whether any family member had been ill or injured during the past year. If so, the interviewer asked the nature of the illness or injury and what was done. The portion of schedule 6 which relates to this is included in Appendix A.

Some questions on illness were included in a survey of household heads in Hamlet KY-7 (Hanks, 1954) and in a structured interview to which there were 335 respondents from the

A [see pp. 51-52--Analyst]

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7

• 12 total of 336 households in Bang Chan (Ralis, 1955).[1] Appropriate portions of schedules used are included in Appendix A.

Women in the random sample of village households, and women whose young children were included in the child feeding study, were asked about survival of all children born to them (See Appendix A, schedule 3, item 36). With the exception of a few old women, those who reported that one or more children had died, were asked to describe the child's symptoms and the circumstances surrounding the death. When the description was clear enough to permit diagnosis, the physician recorded cause of death, as well as the informant's description.

Sanitation

Information concerning toilet practices was obtained from adult members in 30 of the 31 families included in the random sample of households. Additional information on toilet care of infants and toilet behavior of preschool children was recorded in field notes.

In connection with a weighed dietary survey, the observers noted practices relating to care of food, disposal of garbage, and source and treatment of drinking water, in 11 households on 4 days each throughout a year.

Schedules or portions of schedules used in recording the information on sanitation are included in Appendix A.

Results

Physical Measurements

141 145 Heights and Weights. - Mean values and ranges for heights, cristal heights and bicristal diameters, and both mean and median values and ranges for weights of boys and girls in the Bang Chan primary school are classified by age,

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[592] 1. In Ralis' survey, each "kitchen-unit" was considered as a household. As generally used in this data paper, "household" includes all persons living under one roof. A number of such households in Bang Chan include more than one kitchen-unit.

[see pp. 51-52--Analyst]

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mats on the floor as most of them would have done at home. Relatives were welcome; indeed they were supposed to come and help.

Nature and Incidence of Illness and Injury, and Treatments Sought by Residents of Bang Chan. - Evidence concerning the nature of illness and injury in Bang Chan was obtained in connection with the clinical examination of school children and persons in the random sample of village households; from questions in two types of structured interviews with household heads: 1) in the entire village, and 2) in one hamlet, KY-7; and from the field notes of workers associated with the Cornell Thailand Project.

In connection with the clinical examination, information was obtained from heads of 30 of the 31 households whose members were examined (See schedule in Appendix A).[1] In this group, none reported any accident or injury, and 26 said that no member had been ill within the year. Illness was reported as occurring in 4 households only. In one of these, a 49-year old man reported loss of sensation over the extremities and other symptoms which led the physician in the research group to conclude that he had beriberi. As treatment, this man had used an herb recommended by a priest, a native medicine given him by a neighbor and had gone to a private clinic at Minburi where he received an injection.[1] In another family, a 39-year old man who had asthma, took an advertised remedy which he purchased from a drugstore. Two children in the third family had fever for 8 days, for which a traditional practitioner prescribed herbs. In the fourth family, a 1-year old child with eczema was taken first to a traditional practitioner, then to a private clinic in Minburi where he was given an injection.

On the basis of other observations, however, we believe that illness and injury are more common in Bang Chan than is suggested by the replies to this particular inquiry. For example, no mention was made in one of the households surveyed of a baby who had been too ill to be weighed and measured, when team members called, and who recovered in a day or two without outside help. Coming as they did at the end of the clinical examination which was new to most of these people, perhaps the questions asked seemed relatively unimportant. No attempt was made to probe beyond the person's reply to the questions as stated.

Replies to questions in connection with an intensive

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1. From casual observation, one is led to believe that the villagers have considerable confidence in "injections," although the nature of the injection received or desired, is not usually specified.

[see p.51-Analyst]

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84 malunion of old fractures was observed in two cases.

165 Deaths. - Information concerning deaths in Bang Chan during the period of the field study was obtained primarily 12 from field notes. Mothers interviewed or examined by members of the research group which was specifically concerned with health and diet provided further information on infant mortality, and Ralis (1955) obtained some information concerning deaths of children in the respondent's family.

165 Deaths occurring while the field study was in progress. - During approximately 21 months of field study, members of the research group noted 14 deaths in the village. Three infants died, two within a few days of birth, and one at about two months of age. Two children died by accident, one as the result of a fall from a water buffalo, and the other by drowning. One child died of diphtheria and one of Hodgkin's disease. Of the seven adults who died during this period, one was a pregnant woman who became acutely ill and died while enroute to the Health Center at Minburi by boat. The cause of her illness was not known. One young man committed suicide, two adults died of tuberculosis, two of cancer, and one of colitis. One of those who died of tuberculosis was a young woman, the mother of seven children. She was urged by the physician on the team to go to the hospital in Bangkok, but she was unwilling. A sibling 8 years old, who lived in the same household, had died previously with a severe cough.

Mortality among infants and children. - Of the 397 living children born to 84 women interviewed, 323 or 81% of the children survived at the time of interview. Forty-three, or 11% had died within the first year, and 26 or 7% within the first month of life.

Although the data obtained by Ralis (1955) did not permit us to calculate the exact number of children born to the 335 household members interviewed, the number dead, and the number surviving at the time of interview, apparently more than twenty per cent of the children born into these families died (Appendix A). This estimate, for the village as a whole, tends to substantiate the figures obtained from the 84 mothers whom we interviewed.

Some information was obtained from 36 mothers concerning the cause of death of 58 children who were born alive. Twenty-one of these had lost one child only, 8 had lost 2 each, and 7 had lost 3 children each. Reported causes of death are summarized by ages, in Table 16.

In most cases, no specific cause could be assigned, and the case was classified according to the most prominent symptom as fever, convulsions or digestive disturbance.

A A [see p.51-Analyst] B A [see p.40-Analyst]

6: Goldsen and Ralis Z-4.5 (1955) 1957
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FOREWORD

Having two portraits of a community produced by two different field workers is itself a signal event in anthropology, but to have two portraits of the same subject by workers using different methods is unique. A portrait of Bang Chan is being made in traditional style under the Cornell Thailand Project, using unstructured interviews and intuitive judgment to reach generalizations. In contrast this data paper suggests a photograph of a detail made with Dr. Max Ralis as cameraman and Dr. Rose K. Goldsen as darkroom expert who hands us the final print. Dr. Goldsen is Co-Director of the Cornell Cross-Cultural Methodology Project; Dr. Ralis, Field Director of that project. 12 •

Dr. Ralis visited Bang Chan in May, 1953 where, after preparing his questionnaire, he proceeded with the assistance of specially recruited interviewers to visit every household in the community within the course of four weeks. His task was facilitated by advice from orthodox field workers in formulating the questions into colloquial Thai as well as in selecting the relevant indices for inquiry. The details of training interviewers and collecting data appear in the Appendix. Then with suitcase bulging with completed schedules he returned to Ithaca and completed preliminary tabulation of the results before being called away to new work. He left the legacy of further analysis to Dr. Goldsen who produced the present study without benefit of first-hand knowledge of Bang Chan.

The problem was to see if these data could be used to analyze which populations in Bang Chan benefited from agricultural innovation and modern medical facilities and to distinguish how this group might differ from the remainder that did not avail itself of the new. The survey of the acceptance of innovations in Bang Chan parallels similar studies conducted by the Cross-Cultural Methodology Project in other areas where Cornell maintains field stations: Peru, India, and Nova Scotia. The aim of this project is to determine the cultural conditions under which customarily used methods of data-gathering are analytically useful, and to develop techniques for adapting these methods to the demands of varying cultural milieux. Bang Chan provided a laboratory, so to speak, to test the analytic usefulness of the social survey in a cultural context that varied considerably from Western culture, where survey methods have been developed. As one also interested in this aspect of Bang Chan, I found her steps in identifying the context of innovation a fascinating sequence. Field workers are prone to generalize after a few visits. 121

Even at this stage of the Cross-Cultural Methodology Project the value of the survey approach becomes evident. Survey method in an area such as Bang Chan is still too untried to recommend it as an external check against the findings of anthropologists who have lived and worked in the area and have innumerable checks of internal consistency. But when, as in the present case, survey findings can be used to amplify and modify the impressionistic findings based on qualitative data, they serve to sharpen the anthropologist's perception and to alert him to subgroup differences which his emphasis might overlook or minimize. The hazards of structured interviewing, particularly questions of validity, are too well known to detain us here. The present case, however exemplifies a type of survey analysis that can be of aid to the anthropologist insofar as it makes him reexamine his impressions and break down his overall, modal montage into the more discrete pictures of subgroups. We hope that this sort of collaboration between the survey analyst, usually at the mercy of these hazards, and the anthropologist whose immersion in the culture enables him to interpret the meaning of these responses, will enhance the value of both methods. 12 •

We look forward to learning in greater detail where structured interview and further analysis of this type will serve best to advance current research.

L. M. Hanks, Jr.
Director of Research
Cornell Thailand Project

North Bennington, Vermont
May, 1957

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APPENDIX A

March 1956

HOW THE BANG CHAN SURVEY WAS CONDUCTED

How the Study Came to be Made

121 The survey conducted in May 1955 was part of a program* for testing diverse techniques of data-gathering in cultures substantially different from U.S. and Western European cultures, where the survey method of gathering data had been developed and tested.

114 The survey questionnaire was developed and the field work carried out with the help of area specialists of the Cornell Research Center in Bangkok. Mr. Robert B. Textor and Mr. Loebonga Satabhaya of the Cornell Thai staff assisted the field director and recruited the English-speaking Thai university students who interviewed for the survey.

The Questionnaire

12 After a period of training interviewers about the questionnaire and techniques of interviewing, the questionnaire was pretested in a rural community near Bang Chan. Then the staff, consisting of the field director, his deputy, and five Thai interviewers, among them one woman, moved to Bang Chan to carry out the survey.

124 Thai and English-language versions of the schedule were drawn up, but of the 335 interviews conducted in the survey,
125 the overwhelming majority was conducted in the Thai language rather than through an interpreter.

The Interviewers

124 The interviewers were a mixed group: one Thai-speaking American anthropologist; one trained Thai anthropological field worker; two Thai Christians (one a theology, the other a medical student); one Thai Buddhist medical student, one Thai Buddhist female social worker; and an American sociologist who used the Thai interviewers as interpreters.

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[122] * The Cornell Cross-Cultural Methodology Project for the Development and Testing of Improved Methods to Study Underdeveloped Areas is supported by a grant from the Rockefeller Foundation and is a project in the Department of Sociology and Anthropology.

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II. DEFINITIONS

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Definitions are here provided only for a few basic terms within the context of this survey. An attempt will be made to discuss the many concepts contained in the questionnaire before the beginning of the actual field work, as the desirability to keep this guide short makes it unadvisable to go into lengthy details at the present time.

[592]

A household is a single person or a group of persons making one economic unit and distinguished as one kitchen unit. It is likely that members of the same household sleep under one roof (or roofs) belonging to one person, but the main criterion of the definition is the kitchen unit. With each kitchen goes one household. There is occasionally more than one household under one roof; this is found when more than one kitchen is encountered in one dwelling unit.

The head of the household, shortly referred to as HH, is the person whom other members of the household consider to be the head and who lives in this household - we exclude absentee heads of households.

Relationship to the HH is to be designated as whatever applies among the following categories: husband, wife, son, daughter, father, mother, mother-in-law, or "other relative."

Respondent, shortly referred to as R., is the person being interviewed. The R. should preferably be the HH, or, in the absence or nonavailability of the HH, an articulate adult member of the household.

Articulate member of the household is a person in a given household who could be considered eligible to substitute as R. for the HH. An articulate member of the household is another member of the same household as the HH. Such an articulate member should be an adult in the position to express himself without unusual difficulties and he is expected to have a scope of views not much less limited than those of the HH.

III. PROCEDURE

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Our survey will be conducted in Bang Chan, shortly referred to as BC. This is a rice village about 20 miles from Bangkok. The Cornell Research Center has been working in this village for many years and friendly relations have been established all over. Senior members of the Cornell Research Center have taken great pain in maintaining good rapport with the villagers and are, naturally, anxious that nothing should occur to damage the established fine relations. Each interviewer is expected to keep this in mind all the time while in BC.

7: Janlekha X-4,5 (1948-1953)p956 AO7 Central Thai AO7
Bangchan

123 to get government support for the new school building.

Our non-official status relieved us from the responsibility of direct action and thus gave us the immunity from any criticism when sought help had not been responded, while in any event we enjoyed the privilege of the contact men. In the eyes of Bangchan villagers, we were equated with high officials and were given due respect. At the same time, as willing contact men, we were also thought of as good friends of Bangchan.

We did not, for a moment, seek to be admitted as if we were local people, which would appear to be artificial and which might be interpreted as insincerity. It seemed to us, nevertheless, that our sincere treatment of the villagers with some reservation as our equals -- a rare privilege in their experience -- was the most important factor militating in favor of our good rapport with Bangchan.

Techniques for Gathering Informations

• 12 Various techniques were used in securing information, each adopted with a view to procuring the best possible result under different circumstances. In general, information may be classified according to the methods used in obtaining it as follows: (1) structured questionnaires and check lists;[4] (2) informal interviews; (3) daily records of research workers; and (4) supplemental written records made by local residents.

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4. See Appendix B.

7: Janlekha X-4,5 (1948-1953)1956 AO7 Central Thai AO7
Bangchan

• 12 Normally four daily visits were made to the village in each week with occasional overnight stays of two to four days. A field office was established in a house of one of the village headmen, who generously let us have free use of one of his buildings situated in the heart of the community. We usually slept here during an overnight stay, but some dozen other places were also available to us for the purpose including the temple, and we did actually have occasion to utilize each of these in order to get acquainted with as many families as possible.

All of the questionnaires and check lists were constructed in the field after a succession of talks with different informants about the same topic. The check list for household consumption, for example, was made in the following manner. The author approached one family head, preferably the one most intimate with him, and talked with him about various items which his family normally consumed. Kinds and quantities were recorded. Questions were also asked about the amount produced by the family and the amount purchased as well as the price of each of the purchased items. There were usually different ways of expressing rates of consumption of different items, and the informant was encouraged to use the ones he pleased. Rice consumption, for example, was commonly expressed in so many tang (a can of 20 liters) of paddy per year, while fish-sauce consumption was more easily expressed in how long a bottle would last. After the first interview was completed, four more family

7: Janlekha X-4,5 (1948-1953)p956 AO7 Central Thai AO7
Bangchan

12 heads were similarly approached. Results from these five interviews were then compared, and a pattern of consumption was established. With this combined result the author went to the coffee shop, which was a sort of men's club, and got the talk started about the topic. A few more items of consumption were added to the list this way. After the final check list was constructed, the five family heads were re-interviewed. All admitted that they had skipped the missing items.[5]

The author himself administered all, except one, of the whole enumerating jobs, the exception being the work on household and farm inventory. After he had tried to take such inventory of a few farm families, he realized that his sense of observation and his ability to appraise the value of household and farm equipment was far inferior to even the most humble of the local farmers. This was to be expected, since unfamiliarity with the local scene is a heavy handicap to that kind of work. Two bright young men, both local residents, were then hired as field assistants to do the work jointly, each checking the other.

Evaluation of Data

Since various techniques were used in securing information and an individual was approached several times for different types of information, relative merit of data varied according to their nature as well as the technique adopted

5. For check list of household consumption see Appendix B.

12 in gathering them. An over-all evaluation of data, therefore, cannot be made. Evaluation will be attempted, however, each time a new set of data is introduced as we go along.